# Jp\% ind $i=S$ L Heralouta Eribunc Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post PARIS, WEDNESDAY, JNEE 10, 1981 



Kania Denounces Press in Poland, Vows Shake-Up

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Pentagon Wavers on Delivery

## Of F-16 Fighter Planes to Israel



U.S. Denounced by Russia

As Accomplice in Strike


## Israeli Leader Promises To Confront 'Any Enemy

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By Willize Chibome


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## France Condemns Attack,

 Sees Effect on Relations|  |
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## Israeli Raid in Iraq Puts Reagan at Odds With Friend



GREEN-LINE TRAFFIC - Beinut's so-called Green Line, which divides the city into Moslem West and Chris-
tian East, is crowded with traffic as Arab Leaque metiators tian East, is crowded with traffic as Arab League meetiators
and Lebanese govermment officials anmounced agreement
on a cease-fire in all Lebanese teritory. Details, Page 2.
U.S., Russia Agree

To New Grain Sales




 Senate Confirms Crocker as Top Aide on Africa


## Waldhein to Peking




 Most Guns Silent in Beirut as Cease-Fire Takes Hold; Habib Confers With Sarkis


| Nuclear Hazard F <br> By Walter Sulivan New York Times Sertice <br>  |
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## Begin Warns Baghdad on

New Reactor








France Condemns Israel's Destruction of Iraqi Plant



Speak French Like a diplomat!



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## Spain Angrily Warns Paris

 Not to Refuse ExtraditionRa It $t$

Advanced compater and communications techniques are the tools of modern basiness. And whether you are at workin the office, or resolving a problem on the factory floor, attending an out-oftown conference, or even en-route to an appointatent, the overall level of efficiency is very much related to the availability and application of such tools wh computer and communication tools are helping to improve

To Leftist Candidates in France, Clout Is a Key to Assembly Votes











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## Police Seize Records of All Masonic Lodges in Italy

Ulster Problem Raises Theological Issue: When Is Fatal Hunger Strike a Suicide?
By Kenneth A Bigss


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Within that framework of the
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It has also been justified in some
cases as having been unin
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is a great evil but adding chai


\section*{d <br> nsica, the deputy cian <br> <br> \section*{ <br> <br> \section*{ <br> <br> - <br> <br> - <br> <br> Providing the tools for modern business <br> <br> Providing the tools for modern business <br> <br> efficiency in many different business environments. <br> <br> efficiency in many different business environments. <br> <br> ment reporting. And for businesses large and small <br> <br> ment reporting. And for businesses large and small <br> <br> their flexibility and compatibility enable them to} <br> <br> their flexibility and compatibility enable them to}

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image, text and telex information,
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## The Israeli Raid

## A Question of Survival


#### Abstract

There are two critical questions about the nuclear reactor in Iraq qhat Israel fighter bombers destroyed on Sunday. The Sirst is whether it was intended to produce weaponsgrade fissionabable material to be nsed in bombs against Israel And the second is whether here was another way to prevenu rraq from achieving its goal. The second question is obviously moot if the answer to the first is no. And there is no defifitive answit io the irst question beceuse int deals with intentions. But since it it the firs duty of every state to survive, governmentits must calculate their enemies intenvions in the light of their capabilities. cause of its minuscule population Israel bearea. there is litule margin for error. A hand- ful of Himoshine eliminate it it rom the the mato of the mombide would And when the ar weapons is viewed through the prism of the Holocaust and four wars with its Arab  ing the Iraqi facility as a threat to their exisIraq's anti-Israeli intentions are not prov- able, but neither are Israel's fears irrational Goverament and private experts in the Unit- ed States, for example, said that the Iraqi reactor almost certanly was intended to pro- duce plutonium for weapons use. "You use a reactor like that either for metallurgical re- search or for making plutonium," an MIT cal industry in Iraq, it has to be for plutoristitute for Strategic Sudies wrote in The Times of London that "the Iraqi nuclear en- terprise has been steadily moving closer to a terprise has been steadily moving closer to a nuclear weapons option" It seems, then It seems, then, that there was enough evi- dence indicating that Iraq was close to devel- oping a nuclear-weapons capability for rea-


## A Grievous Error

In knocking out the Iraqi nuclear reactor,
the Israelis have made a grievous error. They did not act lighelly. but they acted, we believe in a way contrary to their own long term in-
terests and in a way contrary to $0 . S$. interests the strateoy of preemption, of wich they
 nificantly, they have validated - revalidated - the notion in Arab minds, and not only in to make its way in the Middcle East iot by
accommodation with its neighbors but by a policy of force
They have fuer conveyed the idea that cleaer which is widely believer to have a noan exceppional stata, one not bound by the
rules and restraints applicable to its neighrules and restraints applicable to it st reigh-
 U.S.-sponsored Irraeli assault Finally agni
 why would Israel have risked so much in this Yet this is also true: for more than two
years. strael had becen attempting publicly
and privately to its strategic nightmare - that an Arab country, in this case Iraq, would acquire a nuclear
capability. The source of its fear was a French-supplied research reactor, which rans on highly enriched uranium fuel directly usto halt the French exports failed. The French
felt their own interest in pursuing the export was of far greater importance than the consespite intelligencee estimates that Iraq was in
fact pursuing a bomb, were not prepared to
sonable men to conclude that some response
was necessary. Which brings us back to the second question. Was bombing the reactor the appropriate response? Since the reactor
was due to go critical before the end of the was due to go critical before the end of the ummer, from the israeli point oi vien to be done quickly. If was destroyed after being loaded, the fallout would
have contaminated Baghdad, perhaps killing have contaminated Baghdad, perhaps killin
many thousands of people. many thousands of people
Since France and to a lesser degree Italy
had made the Irag nuclear program possible ince the Soviet Union had also supplied the raqis with an experimental facility, and since the French said that they would contin ue to supply fuel for the reactor, Israel
Prime Minister Menachem Begin may have concluded that it was pointless to wait any
longer. Besides, he may have also calculated mat. Ferscess, he may have also calculate
Hocialist government ident Valery Giscard d'Estaing surely would have. The fact that the timing coincided with
the final stretch of Mr. Begin's election campaiga provided a filip.
There is no question that for a time the
Israeli action will raise the etession level in he Middle East. And Israel is vuluerable to criticism for not having signed the Nuclear
Nonproliferation Treaty, of which Iraq is signatory. It is also true that Israel has atom ic weapons of its own, although they proba-
bly have not been tested. And with the bly have not been tested. And with the
spread of nuclear weapons technology to
Pakistan, which might share it with Libya or Ppakistan, which might share it with Libya or
the Palestine Liberation Organization, one must ask, where will it all end? But having
said that, it is still easy to understand why for tiny Israel in the Atomic Age, the only strategy for survival that seems plausible is a pro-mptive strategy. And untit the Palestini-
an problem is resolved in the context of strong guarantees for Israeli security, that is likely to remain the case.
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.
really fight the French on that Italian firms, it should be noted, had also agreed to supply reprocessing facility.
By last week, the fuel shipment, enough to mminent. Once that fuel was inside the reac ior, it could not be attacked without risking release of large aroounts of radioactivity and a consequent international uproar. If the
reactor were quickly destroyed, however,
there would be no risk of radioactivity and reactor were quiccy
there would be no risk of rodidiacoctivity and
thereafter no legitimate reason to ship the fuel Thus a unique "window" opened. For a Thus a unique "window" opened. For
country convinced, as Israel plainfy was, 1 ) able threat to its vital interests and 2) that no relief from the West was forthcoming, the
moment of thuth had arrived. In hose terms, the raid carries its own explanation: in effect, the so-called inlermational. community
washed its hands and left the dirty work of sopping an Iraqi weapons programs to the

But these are not, finally, the terms in
wiich the Isracli raid has to be measured. wiich the Isracli raid has to be measured
Many parties share the blame for the fact but the Isracis must shoulder their ow share. Especially under Prime Minister Menachen Beegin, they have conducted a pol-
icy convincing most Arabs that there is no whole explanation of it nor is it a justifica tion, surely, but it is the atmosphere in which
the Iraqi nuclear program has gone forward. the Iraqi nuclear program has gone forward
It will resume or another Arab nuclear pro It will resume or another Arab nuclear pro
gram will begin unless there is a turn by Ira el, with its Arab neighbors, toward a politica approach. In raids on Iraqii reactors as in
raids on Israeli villages, there is nothing but raids on lsraeli villages, there is nothing but
:more ruin.
THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Israel's Illusion

Israel's sneak attack on a French-built nu-
clear reactor near Baghdad was an act of Even assuming that Iraq was hellbent to divert enriched uranium for the manufacture of nuclear weapons, it would have been
working toward a capacity that Israel itself working toward a capacity that lsraei itsself
acquired long ago. Contrary to its official
assertion, therefore, Israel was not in "mortal danger" of being outgunried It faced a po
tegtial danger of losing its Middle East nuclear monopoly, of being deterred one day clear the use of atomic weapons in ware. And
from while that danger may now be delayed, also enhanced -by Iraq's humiliation.
Israel is not the first embatted natio toy with the thought that security in the nu-
clear age can be achieved by nuciear monopclear age can be achieved by nuclear monop-
oly. The agitatien in the United States for a
uprest ion 30 years ago had its roots in the same ion 30 years ago had is roots in the same
pathetic logic. A decade agon, it was the Rus-
sians who ihreatened to kock out China's sians who ureatened to knock out China's ing it into the nuclear club.
But Israel has become the
act on that ias become the first nation to other of the international system's yet anbarriers against anarchy. What eood is Israv el's heroic and paiaful quest for secure and
recognized boundaries if it, too, pays them no heed? When Prime Minister Menachem Begin
cries out that he is "not afraid of any reac tion by the world," "he embraces the code of his weakest enemies, the code of terror. He
justifies aggression by his profound sense of
victim-hood. And he assumes that even com-
mitments to allies -like those govening the ne of U.S. weapons - can be twisted to suil
no one should deny that Israel, over the No one should deny that Israel, over the voking Pursuing oil and commerce, France
and other European governments have
staged an ugly competition to sell dangerous staged an uqly compeetition to sell dangerous
nuclear technologies in umstable regions. Ig oring U.S. concerns about the proliferation of nuclear weapons, they have taken refuge control system.
And looking back further, it is not Israel hat chose to wage a 30-year war for its righ
of survival. But proemptive aggression is a reckles
game. If Israel's security justifies the destruc tion of one Arab reactor, why not every
other? And why not take out other threatenother? And why not take out other ithreaten-
ing technologies? Why not, indeed, slaughtex potentially dangerous people - 1 ike the chie of Irac's nuclear program, who was
ously murdered in Paris a year ago?
Israel's ever-widening definition of self-de-
fense is illusory. It is bound to unify a chalrense is illusory. It is bound to unify a chal port of Israel's fastest feeps erods. Such conduc argues that Israeli behavior is irrelevant to Middle East events. It argues for unrelenting attack in pursuit or an unsustainable superiority. It argues for a policy that will make it
impossible to augment. Israel's formidable mefosssibes with diplomane. Istrael risis becom ing its own worst enemy.
THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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## Is American Culture Being Set Adrift?

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| marts a majer change in our cultural life over Lhe las 20 yers. |  |  |
| facts of dollars and cents. The Reagan adiminstration proposes to cut something more than50 percent of the budgets of the two principal astional agencies that support Amencan cul-ture- the National Endowment for the the Arts. |  |  |
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| Even in the best of times, culture does no pay for itself; these are not the best of emes it will no longer make up the difference. |  |  |
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By Stephen S. Rosenfeld W notion of President Requaz
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## Machinery, Plant and Systems





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India Rail Wreck Stirs Political Charges


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Budget Cuts and Development Problems Stall Sophisticated U.S. Physics Project


WORLDWIDE ENTERTANNMENT



## South Asia Feels Shock Of Zia Death

## Stability of Region

 Put Into QuestionBy William Borders


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 Ren rexirn of occan and ssabed to the


'Honeysuckle Rose': A Willie Nelson Ramble


## Persomalities

Actor Remak Ramsay, the Briton from Baltimore


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## Lifestyles



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## Rise of the Dollar Could Clip U.S. Exports

## BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

Ford Merico Negotiating:Large Credit
MEXico CCTY - Ford Mororis Marican subsidiary is negotiating a big credit from forceigu sources for plant exppan
man said
Alussday bubt


Klockner-Werke to Expand U.S. PVC Facility
 Over 33 milico Deeuische marks wind be invested in two PVC sheet
lines to add to two other fines operating near capacity, it ssid. Kubota Sees Profit Rise This Year



 China-Japain Television Venture Opens

 Chrysler, British Firrn in Diesel Engine Tallss DETROIT-Chysy mater may increase up its diesel product line by at-
lowing B Brish finm to manufacture the fued-lhrity engines in one of its
Canadian planis. In response to reports Monday in a trade publication, Chrysler con-
firmed phat negoizitios are under way with Perkins Engines, a British
sabsidiary of Massey-Ferguson of Torontion
 Deutsche BP Raises Gasoline Prices
HAMBURG - Deitsche BR Reater Tuesday it will rase its gasoline
price by ture pfennies to an average 1.45 Deutsche marts a litre but A spokesmang saiderer prices. pricincrease was the result of the company's
miserable" earnings in its on business, add ing that it bad beea sronyly


## Lotus, Toyotai Reach Commercial Agreement





## Brock to Push Talks

 On Services at OECD



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NEW YORK I.S. expors, aided by the
falling dollar in 1977 and 1978 and more aggressive sales efforts, have grown handsome-
Iy in hhel
and creat flere years, bolstering profits and creating new jobs.
But the dollar's shar rency markess. aloog with a comparatively
high inflation rate in






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ally slim S4s1.4 mition defitit in Manch in
arae pant secaume of a shatp rise in petrolearge pan because of a sharp rise in petrole-
7.5 imporis. Durinin the montite exports fell "As we go aloog. the effect of the dollars ise will bevome strooger and slroo egr."." said
Helen B. Junz an inlermational economist with Rownsend-G "lis hard to imagine that U.S. expons can
grow as rapidy in ine priod ahead. ssid
Lawrence Chimerines prosident of Chase
Econometrics.
-We expeest




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Bonn Seeks to Sway



## Otro Lambsionff



Bonn


Suzuki Tells Europe
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## Japanese






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## Prices on Wall Street

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NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 9

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## Peru

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## Balance Sheet 1980

| Balance Sheet Total | DM 102 billion |
| :--- | :--- |
| WestLB Bonds | DM 43 billion |
| Deposits | DM 51 billion |
| Loans | DM 90 billion |
| Administered and Trustee Funds | DM 33 billion |
| Business Volume | DM 139 billion |
| Group Balance Sheet Total | DM 114 billion |
| Group Profit after Taxes | DM 61 million |

Figures as at December 31.1980

## WestLB

Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale

## Head Offices <br> Branches

Düsseldorf Münster
Bielefeld Cologne Dortmund Essen rankfurt Offic
Representative Offices Subsidiaries
Affiliates

Latin America Office New York Rio de Janeiro Tokyo Toronto Melbourne WestLB Asia Limited Hong Kong WestLB Internationai S. A Luxembourg Banco da Bahia investimentos S.A. Rio de Janeiro
Lanque Nordeurope S.A. Luxembourg
Libra Bank Limited London



AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 9

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## The IHT maintains a sense of proportion. You'd subscribe to that, wouldn't you?

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Page 11

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1981
CROSSWORD__By Eugene T. Maleska



## WEATHER

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BOOKS

## THE PARIS REVIEW

The 25th-Anniversary Double Issue 420 pp. Paper. $\$ 10$.
The Paris Review, 45.39 171st Place, Flushing, N. Y. 11358 Reviewed by John Leonard
I a "norice" leading off this heity peassate. William $H$. Gass has a neen whose charm is indefatigable, ielis us un laverices rauld alery. Terry Sourth that the staff of The Paris Review is
huge: -The magaine has one of the huge: "The magaine has one of the
largest mastheads in hieray history."
This masthead, he adds, "consists en-tirely of people doing something else"
which may account for the fact that the 25 ch-aninitersary issue is two years
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ant shourd thave. in 25 years
lished at least 100 . issues. Pimpton directs our arrention to the cover:
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from the brain? Is there anything from the braim? Is there anything
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We should, however, be plessed,
Maxine Knmin's.


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BRIDGE $\qquad$ By Alan Truscott

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Rangers Win, 8-1, To Take Over 1st



 BASEBȦLL ROUNDUP








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Major League Baseball Standings


Monday's Baseball Line Scores Montay




Tiger third baseman Tom Brookens had a rocky first inning Monday night. Just after Ranger Bin Stein's groumder eluded him (atove) for a base hit he booted one by Leon Roborter, hanger Bin
Rangers to four quick rums. Texas' 8 -1 victory putit in first phace in the American League West.

## Red Smith

Records: A Few for the Book
 ,
Althoupht Hank Aaron hit more
 12 others. Ruth led them anl with a
ratio 11.76 or ore bome run
every 12 th time op.
 Record Book" by Josesh L. Re-
ichler (Macmilban Publishing Co.
Inc., $\$ 19.95$.)


## Spinks, Guard and Attitude Up, Set for Holmes

## The Soccer Scene

## A Sea Change for Clemence?

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## Kings' Birdsong Traded to Nets





## King Decision Firm

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## NASL Standings

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## Observer <br> Quit Growing Old!


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